1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

512 grains of sand, they wait patiently and quietly, though hungry.
461 They seek no shelter from the wind, preferring it to the myriads of insects lurking in any sheltered spot. And then, too, it is cool in the wind, terrifically hot away from it.

About midafternoon the hunters and food gatherers straggle in.
512 They bring small crocodiles and turtles, crocodile eggs, turtle eggs,
224 perhaps some honey; and the women return with full baskets con-
222 taining changuango, a wild root that they have dug up in the savanna. They, too, may bring turtle eggs. Not always, of course. The men and the women may return with empty hands and empty baskets. In any event there is no boisterous reception, but the same silence, the same quiet acceptance of the day and what it brings as they have shown at its beginning. Fires are built larger, the women roast the
512 roots, the men help with the turtles and the crocodiles. These are
252 placed whole on the fire until the shells are toasted and then they
515 are cracked open. Wives become busy delousing their husbands, using a carved stick to help in the search. Sometimes the lice are picked and eaten. But the bodies of the men are covered with numerous black blisters, showing that they have suffered the daily torment from the insects. The wife crushes all of these blisters with the same delousing tool.

Dinner is a gala time. Calabash dishes containing the various
512 courses are placed in the center of the ring formed by each family.
264 The food is picked up and carried to the mouth with the fingers.
262 There are crocodile eggs. These are opened and the contents are sucked up raw. The same is done with the turtle eggs. There is the course of roasted changuango, and the pieces of turtle meat. But the real delicacy is crocodile, the best meat of all. The crocodile is eaten in its entirety, except for the entrails, and when the dinner is over some of it is left by the fire, an open invitation to anyone to fill any empty portion of his stomach. The stomachs become distended as tremendous quantities of food are swallowed. This is the only real meal of the day, and the fear of a dinnerless tomorrow drives the eaters to exceptional feats of gourmandizing until their bodies can hold no more. The lean dogs fight among themselves over the refuse heaps. The vultures glide overhead or are busy at crocodile entrails.

There is no after dinner work—no kitchen or table ware to wash,
512 nothing to spoil the proper enjoyment of a full stomach. They eat
517 until they have had enough, and then they move to the east of the
776 fires to lie on the clean sands and watch the sun hide beneath the western horizon. For about half an hour they watch the ever-changing colorful western sky and when rays of light emanate from below the horizon to streak the heavens with blue and gold and white, they

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

291 177 after I had been among the Yaruros for a time the women often discarded their camisoles, even though I were present.

291 286 462 The men would normally wear a breechclout which originally was woven by the woman from the fibers of the moriche palm leaf, but now it consists of a piece of cloth. Formerly the women wove wide belts of the same fiber for the men, but this is no longer done. The breechclout is held in place by a string tied around the waist.

291 287 The women, underneath their camisoles, still wear the old-fashioned Yaruro girdle, which is made from the fibers of the moriche palm. The fibers, which are about 2 feet long, are fastened together at one end. This end is slipped through a hair rope tied around the waist, and the whole mass of fibers passes between their legs and under the waist string. Plate 25, 4,[1] shows a Yaruro woman wearing one of these girdles. It is fastened in such a way that an enormous knot is formed in the rear, and when wearing their camisole the women have the appearance of sporting large tails.

562 291 301 The women on the whole seem to be more conservative than the men in their clothing and body decorations. Below the knees and around the ankles they wear a thin string, and often they have necklaces of carved asabache figures, which are shown in plate 21.

DELOUSING TOOL

412 515 An implement that is in great vogue is the delousing tool shown in plate 20, 2. The serrated end is used as a comb to expose the lice, which are seized between the fingers and crushed between the teeth. The pointed end is employed to crush blisters raised on the body by

462 302 mosquito bites. These tools, also fashioned by the men, are used exclusively by the women to groom their menfolk and each other.

CARRYING NETS

482 286 854 Carrying nets, of the knotless variety, are woven and used to carry children and food. When carrying children the net is slung across the chest from one shoulder; when carrying food it is supported by the head.

COOKING

252 462 The culinary art among the Yaruro is poorly developed. Much of the fruit and the eggs are eaten raw. Fish is eaten half raw and the meat of the crocodiles and turtles is merely warmed over the fire. Sometimes the meat is boiled. In the afternoon the women who have gathered firewood are to be found in camp waiting patiently for the men. On the hot coals they will have eggs and changuango. If the hunt is successful, and no hunt is considered

1 [see category 116, and plate 15, - - - Analyst]

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

838 572 among ourselves. Also, it is true that these acts are never to be seen between man and woman. For instance, I remember young men loafing at my camp with their arm around each other's necks, and even clasped in a tight embrace face to face in each other's arms, though standing up. I never observed any physical sexual excitement, though.

EDUCATION OF CHILDREN

861 858 There is no direct and organized teaching of the children. They learn from example and from the precepts laid down by the adults in discussions, generally held at night. Certainly the child is not made to feel that he is the center of attraction; rather he is tolerated, though watched with fond eyes by the adults. The children are never admonished to do this or that or negatively. It may be said that they are put into a pattern of behavior, and the bonds of this pattern are indeed close and strong. There is no breaking them as long as life lasts. It must not be thought that these bonds are felt and 181 156 that there is resentment toward them. The Yaruro is in a sense tremendously individualistic, in that each individual is forced to depend on his own resources, but when it comes to group life he is merely a part of the whole.

861 851 The children are free to play, but from infancy they also share in the adult activities. A mother may make a basket, with the little daughter constantly beside her. As soon as the child is able she will help in the digging of roots, or placing them in the basket, or will help in the making of a basket, or the cooking, her share of the work gradually increasing as she grows older. However, a child is never told to do any work, but does so entirely imitatory of the adults and the older children, with complete freedom as well as free desire.

The boy in like manner imitates the older boys and the men. His games consist of constant practice with bow and arrow, but this play is done only in the late afternoon and in the evening. During the day, as soon as the child is able to do so it will accompany the mother or father in hunting for food, doing its share of the paddling, loading and unloading of the canoe, helping to carry the food, taking care of the dogs, and watching and trying to make bows and arrows, string, etc.

GROOMING

Yerkes writes of grooming as follows:

182 515 Grooming is used in this report to designate a pattern of social behavior whose essential features are visual examination, search and manipulation of the skin and hair of a companion with fingers and lips, removal of dirt, dandruff, scabs, parasites, and other extraneous materials, and their conveyance to the mouth of the groomer, whose lips, tongue, and jaws meanwhile may have

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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been in motion, with sound production, as if in anticipation of something to be swallowed. Commonly, swallowing ensues, if the object is not disagreeable. Such behavior is conspicuous in chimpansee, which for purposes of comparison will be used in this report as type. Such familiar expressions as fleapicking, hairdressing, skintreatment, toiletmaking, frequently are used to refer to forms or aspects of the pattern of primate behavior which has been described.

Grooming is a biological habit, and like all such habits can either be perpetuated by a culture or smothered, "repressed". Among the very primitive peoples of South America I have seen habits that approximate the definition given by Yerkes. Delousing is the most common form. The lice are generally picked off and crushed between the teeth. Ticks that cover one in great numbers are likewise taken off. In this the subject of the attention generally sits very quietly, while the performer acts with evident pleasure. He or she may talk and jest much more than the subject.

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Among the Yaruros the most common forms of social grooming are the removal of lice, ticks, and the crushing of insect-bite blisters. For this latter function carved sticks are used. One end of it is used to search for the lice and to crush them and the other end is used for the blisters. This attention is generally given by the mothers to the children and the wives to their husbands, generally on the return from the day's hunt. I myself have been the recipient of such attention from Yaruro women. Not having a wife of my own, my sisters by courtesy, or adoption, took care of my body.

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It is difficult to say that the talk, jesting, smiles, that accompany these attentions are a result of the biological instinct. I am inclined to think that the culture pattern is here at work with its attendant repressions. For instance, often I have seen grimaces on the faces of the performer, the subject, and even of those standing about when a louse is crushed or a blister is broken. Is this a purely biological reaction or does it follow the pattern of conduct? Even primitive peoples are slaves to culture.

Religion and Shamanism

The Yaruro World

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Uppermost in the Yaruro consciousness is their conviction that they are faced with extinction—that Kuma exists and that she is waiting for them in her land. It was easy to prevail upon my informants to talk about Kuma and the world to which they will go upon dying. The other phases of their beliefs were difficult to bring to their attention, for the Yaruro life in this world has practically ceased. As a group, the desire to live and to continue has died. They see the hopelessness of any struggle to preserve their traditional

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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1. a, Fire sticks. Fire is produced by drilling one piece of laurel wood into a second. b, Fire fan. c, Horizontal piece is a hair rope worn around the waist by the women and the hairlike vertical piece is made from the moriche palm leaf and dyed red. The two pieces form the women's girdle.

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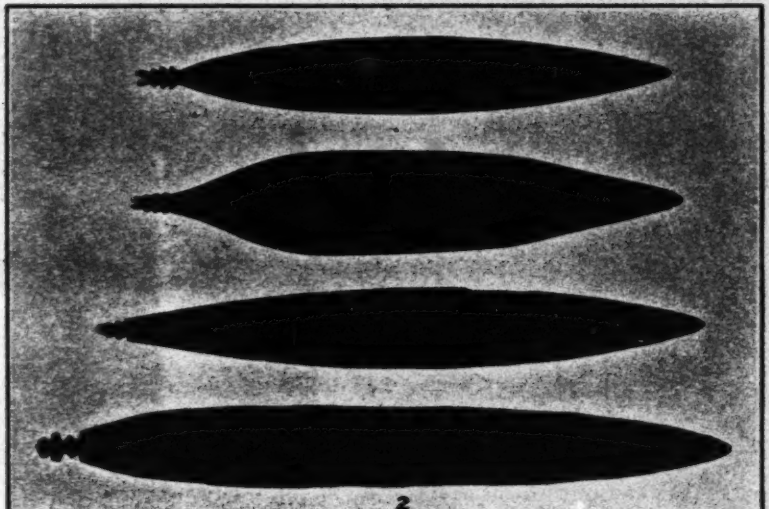

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2. The serrated ends of the sticks are used to comb the hair in the search for lice which are either crushed between the fingers or between the teeth. The pointed ends are used to crush the blisters raised by various insects.

(End Plate 10)